



NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER,
ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
Grosvenor Lodge, 1017 Western Road, London, ON. N6G 1G5
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October, 1994

94-6

WHY STANDPOINT REALLY MATTERS: ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE

Dr. Alison Wylie
University of Western Ontario

This month we hear from Alison Wylie, who is one of the leading critical thinkers of the science of archaeology. Alison, who is in the Philosophy Dept up at Western and has spent many field seasons on mostly Parks Canada projects, has many research interests, but one of them is looking at why archaeologists do what they do and say what they say (sort of an ethnography of archaeologists - but more critically!). Currently, as a co-chair of the SAA's ethical committee, Alison is looking at some of the problems - dilemmas - facing archaeologists in the late 20th century, something we all need to think about. And, while these are "big" topics, Alison's a great speaker, so come on out! **BUT, NOTE THE SCHEDULING AND MEETING LOCATION CHANGE:** We meet this month on Thursday, November 17th, at the MCTR office, 55 Centre Street, starting at 8 PM. So don't show up at Grosvenor Lodge! See you then.

Next Month: The Chapter's Annual Christmas Party this year will be on Saturday, December 10th, starting after 6 PM, at Neal and Nina's place (451 Tecumseh St. E.). Call Neal at 433-8401 (Days) or 432-2165 (evenings); or wait 'til next month's **KEWA**, for more information.

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ANNUAL RATES

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EXECUTIVE REPORT

As reported last month, one of the more important issues the Chapter has been dealing with revolves around the proposed re-organization of the City of London LACAC. Numerous presentations and letters were sent to the LACAC committee reviewing this matter, outlining the Chapter's concerns with what was felt to be an under-representation of archaeological and traditional heritage concerns in the proposed changes. While we have yet to receive formal comment, informally it appears as though the major concerns raised by the Chapter will be addressed - confirmation again of this organization's ability to be effective in the advocacy of archaeological concerns in our community!

Don't forget, the Chapter's annual Christmas party, to be held this year on the 10th of December, is also the time for our Annual Business meeting. While usually an annoyance and disruption to the evening's activities (and about as well attended as the main body's annual business meeting!), this is the one time of the year that members can raise issues and concerns, and ask questions of your Executive. So don't be shy, come out for the business meeting and tell us what you're thinking!!!

* * * APA ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING & PUBLIC LECTURE * * *

On Saturday, November 19th, at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, the Association of Professional Archaeologists will hold its annual meeting. As a part of the day's activities, a **PUBLIC LECTURE** (as in anyone can attend!) is planned for the evening, starting at 7:30 PM, at the Theatre Auditorium of the Aird Building, on the main campus of Wilfrid Laurier. The presentation will be by **Dr. Michael Parrington, on the 18th century archaeology, osteology and politics of investigating a large African slave cemetery uncovered during construction in downtown New York City.** This was and is a major undertaking, and should be a very interesting presentation. Chapter members are encouraged to come out for this talk. For more information, you can call the APA at 519-884-1970, ext. 6845.

SOCIAL REPORT

As mentioned on the cover of this month's issue, Neal Ferris and Nina Jones have offered up their home for this year's Chapter Christmas party. They've agreed to provide the turkey...if that's what members want. But they suggested that if there is a ground swell of support for a non-traditional meal at the party (ie. not a turkey but a pot-luck, thematic or otherwise), they'd be willing to provide a couple of entrees for that. So what do you think? Give Neal and Nina a call in the next few weeks (phone number on the cover of the newsletter), and we'll announce the decision in the next issue.

EDITOR'S REPORT

This month, we provide readers with the latest instalment of the Denke Diaries, this time translated by the Chapter's own Dr. Irmgard Jamnik. As regular readers to the newsletter will know, we have been publishing instalments of this diary over the last several years, as we've translations from both Irmgard and Fred Dryer up at UWO. This current instalment is the last diary section for the Denke diaries written from the Sydenham River, and is actually the first part of the diary written after the Denkes settled there (I know, I know, "Why didn't this section appear first?" So I goofed, so sue!). Of course there are more sections to Denke's diary, including his account of his time on Algonac Island in the St. Clair River, as well as other bits. Perhaps they'll also appear in KEWA some day? That's a Hint, Irmgard and Fred, in case you didn't notice it!!

The following instalment of the Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Denke's recounting his mission to the Sydenham River between 1804 and 1806 represents the first instalment of that diary, beginning in April of 1804. Sequentially, this follows the Schnall and Denke scouting trip of January, 1804, and the August 1804 - June 1805 instalment of the diary, both of which appeared in **KEWA** 90(5):2-21. This instalment offers a great number of insights into the work that was required to initially establish the mission site (a log cabin) and associated garden and cleared areas. Located somewhere along the Sydenham River, likely between the present-day communities of Croton and Florence, this endeavour is initially described with much of the hope and promise the Denkes' brought to the Sydenham: hope of converting to Christianity the local Ojibwa community living and travelling along this section of the river. Regular readers to **KEWA** are already aware that this promise would never bear fruit (see **KEWA** 90(5), 91(7), 93(7)), which adds a certain poignancy and drama to Denke's references here of his optimistic plans for Christian conversion; and to the off-hand remarks about concerns raised by the Ojibwa, the first seeds of what eventually would lead to the deterioration of Denke's relationship with many in this community, and the ultimate collapse of this venture.

CHIPPEWA MISSION DIARY OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK DENKE¹

Diary from Jonquakamik² from April 13th till August 22nd, 1804

(Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America, Box 164, Folder 6)

Translated from the Old Script German by Irmgard M. Jamnik

On *April 13th*, we departed from Fairfield where we stayed since our arrival. Brother Schnall accompanied us, and our things were carried by 19 Indian brothers and sisters. Sister Denke made the entire way on foot. Through the largest, very deep swamp, an Indian sister carried her on her back. In the evening, we arrived here, on the place destined for us by the Lord. We often rested on the way and the Indian Brothers shot black squirrels. It was just 3 months today that

¹ This diary was written in the old German script except for all proper names and words that were borrowed from the English language. The borrowed English words appear here between quotation marks. All names are spelled as they are written in the manuscript. Sometimes two or three different spellings are used: Mtschigi, Mtschiki and Metschiki; Nabawe and Nabbawe. The German word *Geschwister*, meaning children (brothers and/or sisters) of a family, is an appellation - like Brother or Sister for members of a religious society - for mixed sex groups of a commune, and for married missionary couples. It is thus translated as brothers or sisters or Brother or Sister [name].

² Jonquakamik is the Ojibwa name for the Sydenham River.

we had set out on our scouting trip from Fairfield to this river. Today's delightful Watchword³ and text were also quite comforting to us. After supper we had a meeting by a big fire; Brother Denke gave a speech in the Delaware language about the purpose of our present gathering; then, this place was consecrated and, in the name of Jesus, taken in possession as a mission establishment with a prayer on our knees and amid many tears of those present whereby the closeness and omnipresence of God and of our dear Saviour could be felt quite mighty.

14th - In the morning, the Indian brothers and sisters set quite cheerfully out for home again. We staked out the place, and in the afternoon, 2 Indians began to hew logs for our house. We were busy clearing some land for a little garden, and in the evening, a walnut table and a bench were made, from the chopped-off splits of a canoe, made long ago at the upper "bottom."

On Sunday⁴ the 15th, in the morning, there was a meeting about the word of Jesus: *Where one or two are together*, etc. We used this day to look around a little in the neighbourhood, and now it became very clear to us why 2 places - which we considered suitable and comfortable in those days - were omitted; there are swamps nearby, and, laying so low, they could easily give cause for diseases. Very early, the Indians went out to hunt down some meat, and Wichtschi brought a very big turkey before the breakfast. In the afternoon, they felled a few trees over the river for which one of them went first by an old log across the river and made a not comfortable but passable bridge; with this help, we could go on the other side of the river and stake out a plantation for us, below the place, on the rich "bottoms," where there is not much to clear. There was a singing hour in the evening.

16th - Wichtschi brought in 2 bug turkeys before the breakfast. Brother Schnall who stayed a few days to cheer us up returned on horseback, in company of Joseph, to Fairfield today. Mtschigi came with another Chippuway⁵ in the afternoon and brought some of our things, left behind, to us. It was pouring today. The Indians made a shelter of bark for Sister Denke in which she could cook on a dry spot. We heard from Mtschigi that he met Brother Schnall near Fairfield; this pleased us because we were worried about him as he is weak, had to wade through swamps, and on top of that it was raining. Mtschigi expressed his desire to us but his children are sick in Fairfield at present. He will come after their recovery. In the afternoon, we cleared in our garden, and the Indians began to build our house. In the evening, there was a talk in Delaware about today's watchword. In spite of the heavy showers in the evening, we stayed dry in our tent.

³ The Moravian church has prepared yearly since 1731 a *Losung*; a booklet or selection of a short passage from the Old or the New Testament called Text, and a Bible or hymn verse called *Losung* - watchword - for each day of the year. See also **Kewa** 93(7):5, footnote 5.

⁴ Denke marks Sundays with a ☉ before the date.

⁵ Chippuway is Denke's spelling of Chippewa, the term used by European recorders for the Ojibwa of southwestern Ontario during the 19th century.

17th - Mtschigi went to Fairfield. We had a visit of Chippuways who, coming from their sugar huts, went down the river. There were 3 families, altogether 19 souls. 2 families intend to plant above us this year. One of them, Jawinit, made inquiries about everything, and seemed to know nothing yet about our presence. Brother Denke became acquainted with him already at the St. Clair River. Today, we prepared some garden land and sowed lettuce, set early peas, and planted early potatoes; we felled also several thick trees by which Brother Denke had a great protection. Today and the following days, the Indians were hardworking with raising our house; it is 14 feet square. The weather was windy and cold. In the evening, we had a singing hour.

18th - We were busy with clearing and burning brushwood and set onions and radishes. The weather had changed suddenly and it was very pleasant and warm today. In the evening, we were uplifted by today's watchword.

19th - We had a severe hoar-frost in the night and now and then it froze ice. We built a small hen-house for till now our hens slept on trees which is dangerous because of the many screech owls. Sometimes during the night, the owls make a most unpleasant noise, and one could be frightened if it would not be known that owls are also capable of imitating the howling voice of man.

20th - We felled trees again. In the evening, there was Friday's Liturgy.

21st - During the last night it was raining heavily and continued today. The Indians enlarged our bark shelter.

Sunday the 22nd - We meditated on today's watchword and in the evening, there was a singing hour. Because of the strong winds, we had in these days, as it was raining continuously, to suffer a lot under the smoke in our open bark hut. Due to the rain, the river rose very much, and the bridge gave in to the vehemence of the current. The river also caused the brook in the valley so to swell that the small "bottoms" on it as well as the whole valley stood under water. The "bottoms" opposite us, on the other site, are already quite green and a nice pasture. Early this morning, the Indians were hunting, having seen 5 turkey hens, but could shoot none because of the rain. At dusk, the Indians go in the bush and call the tom turkeys with *gulie, gulie...* To that, those answer and in this way they find out where the same are sleeping, and are able to hunt them down easily in the morning. Our hens laid their first eggs today, and that in our tent.

23rd - Despite continuously rainy weather, the Indians, carried on with the building of our house.

24th - We began to split rails and to put up a fence. The Indians peeled bark to roof our house, and whilst doing so, Wichtschi had the misfortune that, by the pecking, a chip struck his eye and injured it badly. 2 Chippuways from the "town" below, Kittigan (the plantation), visited us, were friendly, and smoked a pipe; on this occasion, God's love in *Chisto Jesu*, for the salvation of the heathen, was praised to them; they were quite attentive and promised also to visit again soon. One of them was painted black because he is in mourning on account of the death of his child in this spring. At first, Sister Denke was startled a little at their arrival because it was the first

black painted Indian whom she saw. With them, going soon to the St. Clair, we sent a letter to the Harsen's⁶ in which we asked them to bring our belongings left there. Towards evening, we went to the upper "bottom" and fetched lamb's lettuce. Our provisions are running low and we are awaiting anxiously a visit from Fairfield.

25th - Despite the raining, the Indians roofed our house with bark today. Our lettuce sprouts now as well as the radishes. In the evening, we mediated on today's text.

26th - We sent Wichtschi to Fairfield to fetch provisions. Jephtha boarded up our house around the bottom, and towards evening, we brought our things in and slept inside though only the door is cut out and it has neither fireplace, floor, ceiling, nor windows; we are, with all our heart, thankful to the Saviour for what He did for us till now. He was with and by us. Jephtha shot a few pigeons and black squirrels who came near to us and in the early morning of the *27th*, he went to hunt down turkeys; he shot, in our proximity, the legs of one asunder but it flew over the river and fell down there; as we have neither a canoe nor a bridge, it could not be fetched. He brought, however, 1 dozen pheasant eggs. Wichtschi came back towards evening and with him Jacob; they brought us provisions. Today, we had a visit from Nabawe, the chief Kajaki, the old man, and another one, who came down the river with their families from their winter huts and sugar places; they were friendly and listened to what God has done for their salvation through Christ. Kajaki's wife brought Sister Denke a bowl of sugar. In the evening, we had Friday's liturgy.

28th - Early in the morning, we heard a turkey nearby whom Wichtschi shot immediately. Jacob went back. The Indians split boards today, and we felled some trees. Out of carelessness, one fell in our garden and had almost damaged our seeded beds, even our house; with hard effort and the help of the Indians, we could remove it again.

On *Sunday the 29th*, it was windy and cold. In the forenoon, we prayed the liturgy.

30th - The Indians laid the upper floor today. We cleared out our potato - and corn - patch and burned brushwood. This year, we are compelled to completely refrain from making a cornfield across the river, on the "bottoms" where it is already marked out because we have no canoe, and can also not leave our house. We have thus to be content with the little here on the "upland" (which, however, is very good for an "upland"). We will be glad and thankful when we have cleared and cleaned this, made a fence around, and have it worked over sufficiently for planting. Kajaki paid a friendly visit, and we gave him some seeds. The weather was very pleasantly warm.

⁶ The Harsen family lived on Harsen's Island, one of the islands on the American side of the border which makes up the Walpole Island delta at the north end of Lake St. Clair. The Harsen's helped Denke during his brief mission established there in 1801. See **Kewa**, 91(7):18, endnote 8.

1st - It was cold again, and there was a severe hoarfrost; it was snowing a little too today. Sister Denke was indisposed; it was presumably due to the weather.

2nd - We split the first linden boards for a bedstead, went also to the lower "bottom" but did not find any lamb's-lettuce but nettles, and brought hope-roots. The Indians laid the floor and built a fireplace as we had to cook outside the house.

3rd - We felled again some trees and split rails. It is still windy and cold. In the evening, we meditated on the texts of the day.

4th - We thought of the unmarried sister-choirs.⁷ Sister Denke had a great protection today as a very thick tree, by the cutting down, fell exactly to that side where she stood; for fright she was hardly able to get out of the way. The angels, however, guarded her, and, although the tree fell close to where she had crept, did not cause the slightest injury, only left a great anxiety by both of us. We gave immediately, with a moved heart, a childlike happy thanks to our gracious Lord for his gracious protection. In the evening, we had the pleasure to see arrive a few sisters from Fairfield who brought us provisions of which we were in need. To our great joy, we received also a letter from Brother V. Vleck from Nazareth. We learned from a letter of Brother Schnall, which he wrote before his departure to Detroit in the company of Brother Oppelt and the Pettquotting's⁸

⁷ Moravians sub-divide all their members of a congregation, or in this case mission site, into choirs or classes, and each choir had its festival day: May 4th - Unmarried Sisters' day; June 24th - Festival of the Boys; August 29th - Unmarried Brothers' day; August 31st - Widows' and Widowers' day; September 7th - Festival of the Married. See also *Kewa* 93(7):3, footnote 1.

⁸ In 1786, after the Revolutionary war, the Christian Delawares who had settled with their Moravian missionaries on the Clinton River, Michigan, attempted to move back to Muskingum where tracts of land were reserved for them by the US congress in 1785. On their way back, they built a mission on the Pettquotting River (now known as the Huron River), called New Salem, two miles from present day Milan in Ohio. They stayed there from may of 1787 until April of 1791. Due to a rumour of an impending war, they evacuated the site, put themselves again under British protection, and settled, after a brief sojourn near Detroit, at Fairfield in 1792. At a conference in Goshen in September of 1803, it was decided to build a new mission to the Muncseys (Munsee speaking Delawares) on the Pettquotting River. Zeisberger (a Moravian missionary leader) urgently requested that some Christian Natives from Fairfield start this mission, near the former site of New Salem.

The Pettquotting pilgrims referred to by Denke are the six families from Fairfield (36 people) who agreed to settle there under the leadership of the missionary, Sebastian

pilgrims, that Mtschigi and 2 other Chippuway families who intend to settle here, are on the way to us by water (that fell through completely later on again).

5th - In the morning, a few sisters swam across the river to look at the "bottoms" on the other side, and towards noon, they were quite cheerfully home again. This visit cheered Sister Denke up. They made us a broom and the 3 young ones felled trees. We spoke with Beata who came along, and she was willing to come to us when her husband comes home. In the evening, it was raining which had done our garden a lot of good. The Indians finished their work on our house, and in the evening we held a liturgy with them.

Sunday the 6th - They went back to Fairfield, and we were now all alone here in the solitude. In the evening, we held a singing hour, with a prayer, whereby the Saviour was quite close to us and consoled us mightily. The solitude in the midst of the bush, among the rough Indians and heathens, seemed, in the beginning, almost unbearable for Sister Denke, but she submitted willingly and childlike to the dear will of the Saviour.

7th - We began to smear our house inside. The weather is now quite warm, and the heat during the day oppressive so that we could work on our plantation only in the evening and in the morning.

8th - Brother Denke had overstrained himself and was indisposed today, had severe headaches and felt exhausted.

10th - On the Ascension Day, we occupied ourselves a great deal with the festive matter.

11th - We planted our corn and a few things in the garden too. The heat was partly very oppressive in these days. The gnats (mosquitoes)⁹ occurred also frequently by the now dreary and sultry weather, and we had to have continuously smoke-fire. Because we have no tight fence around our garden, the hens ate completely the first lettuce that was ready for eating; likewise the birds the newly seeded one.

Oppelt, who had been in Fairfield since 1799.

This became an important and prosperous mission. But, in 1808, the area Wyandots sold the Pettquotting land to the United States Government, who in turn had it transferred to a Connecticut company. By may of 1809 the mission had been dissolved. Some of the Christian families moved to the Goshen mission, while some of the former Fairfield members moved back there, along with the Denke's. For more information, see E. Gray, 1956: **Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians**. MacMillan, Toronto.

⁹ As Denke himself put beside the word *Mucken*, meaning gnats, the word mosquitoes in parentheses, so too have I translated *Mucken* always with the word mosquitoes.

13th - We finished the inside smearing of our house, split still more rails, burnt off, and tidied up.

14th - In the afternoon, Mtschigi visited us from Fairfield but returned there again this evening. Once more he promised to come, soon after the planting, with Beata, his wife, and his family to live here. Otherwise we were all by ourselves this week, worked on our plantation, and made a few needed household equipment. We planted also potatoes. Sister Denke suffered very much from the irritating bites of the mosquitoes and was full little bumps, like a rash which badly hurts.

18th - 2 Indians came from Fairfield and returned on the *19th*. By them, we received a few letters and some provisions. In the evening, we had, in our solitude, a quite blissful enjoyment of the Holy Communion, in fellowship with the Fairfield commune. Our dear Lord and Saviour was quite close to us, and quickened and strengthened us mightily.

Sunday the 20th - On this Pentecost Sunday, we meditated on the beautiful, festival matter. In the evening, in the twilight, we heard 2 gunshots downstream, nearby, but nobody came.

21st - In the morning, we had a thunderstorm but it cleared up again and turned cool which reduced the numerous mosquitoes a little. Towards evening, the Indians, planting above us, arrived in their "canoes." They were very friendly and, after the Words of the Eternal Life was made known to these savages, they went a little further upstream and camped. At present, there are 3 families. This evening, Jawinit came again and spent the whole evening with us. Brother Denke, though, had the opportunity to talk still more with him about the Saviour love, death, and reconciliation. He was attentive and promised to think about it but mentioned that he holds it quite impossible that he, for his part, could live as a believer and please God, as he is addicted so much to drinking; he thinks also it is too hard to learn to read in order to use books in the church as he saw at the Roman Catholics; he told us his circumstances very exactly and openheartedly. We answered him that all this should not make him disheartened for we all are weak by nature and totally incapable of doing good, but the Saviour makes us strong to be able to live a life pleasing to Him. To be able to read would not be necessary for the salvation, but only one thing: that he would give his whole heart to the Saviour who suffered so much for him, even died on the cross for his good, and that he would ask Him to grant him the faith of His Word. He thanked us on parting and promised to visit us soon again.

22nd - As we got up in the morning, we found a nice fish which Jawinit had brought, before our door. Towards evening, 4 from the Harsen's family came and brought us the things we left there; but the cow which we need so badly, stayed still back.

23rd - They went back again. It was raining heavily today, and we did not expect to have the pleasure to see our dear Brother Schnall, though completely drenched, arriving to visit us. He delighted and cheered us up with a visit lasting a few days. An Indian lad from Fairfield came with him. He brought us 4 little pigs (but 3 of them died already). We had quite a good time together. He helped us also in our work and returned again on the...

26th - In these days, during Brother Schnall's presence, Brother Denke had again an obvious protection by the felling of a tree.

27th - Sunday. We were all alone again.

28th - In the evening, to our joy, Mtschigi and Beata arrived with 2 children finally here from Fairfield, as also Jacob. With the latter, Brother Denke went on the 29th for a visit to Fairfield (as Beata now stayed with Sister Denke) and came back with Anton on the 30th. 2 canoes of strange Indians passed by, up the river, without making a stop. There was a meeting in the evening.

31st - Mtschigi and Anton hunted but brought only turkey eggs back - which were already brooded. The latter went back to Fairfield today. In the evening, we had the first singing hour with Chippuway people. The path between Fairfield and us is now so much shorter as one strides in a straighter line through the bush; a good walker can travel it in 3 hours without rest; this is now impossible as the countless March flies give one not a moment peace or time.

JUNE

On the 1st, Mtschigi began to clear a little where he wants to build his house.

2nd - As the corn bread which they brought became mouldy and we do not yet have a mortar and pestle, so they went to the lower "town" to pound corn and came back on...

Sunday, the 3rd. In the afternoon, we had a small lovefeast¹⁰, the first one on the Jonquakamik. In the evening, there was a thunderstorm with heavy strokes of lightning and hailstones.

4th - Tobias came on horseback from Fairfield and brought us some flour. He wished to stay here for a time, which was permitted gladly (It came out later on that this was mere talk and he was not at all in earnest).

On the 5th, he went back. 2 womenfolk of Mtschigi's circle of friends came here on their way to the upper part of the Thames River. We hilled up our potatoes.

6th - Mtschigi built himself an Indian hut this day, but did not quite finish it. In the meeting in the evening which the visitors attended, the first short talk in the Chippuway language was held.

7th - The 2 womenfolk went to Fairfield. An Indian from Kittigan went with his family up the

¹⁰ The lovefeast was introduced by Count Zinsendorf at herrnhut (Saxony) in 1727. It is a gathering with singing and sharing bread and tea or coffee. It is held before communion and upon many occasions, such as birthdays, anniversaries, the arrival or departure of brethren, etc.

river to hunt and visited us only very briefly here. Only 3 families plant in Kittigan this year and one of them plans to move to the Thames in the autumn. They lament that they die so frequently in Kittigan. It is really noteworthy to view the number of the graves there in comparison with the small number of inhabitants which Kittigan had, and it is even not that old a Chippuway town and settlement. Only now, the Chippuways are coming back from Detroit and St. Clair and want still to plant. It happens, therefore, that they plant only a little because it is already so late and then they have a great deal to pay for their laziness with hunger and want of food, especially if the hunt turns out badly because of unfavourable weather during the winter, and rain and vermin in the summer. They are, therefore, living mostly on fish.

9th - Mtschigi and Beata went back to Fairfield again but at odds between themselves. From there came Martha and Justine in the evening who brought us, to our delight, provisions.

On *the 10th*, they returned. Today, in the evening, we had a good thundershower which steadied the plants as the soil is already very dry again. We were in quite a high spirit in our solitude. As long as Mtschigi and Beata were here, we had them, together with their children, with us in the house, because he had not yet finished his; that was surely very unpleasant especially since our house is small. The river is now quite low so that you can easily wade across it here; it has stones on the floor and very clear water; on the bank, we have also a spring of good and fresh drinking water which only can be used when the river is low. The mosquitoes and horseflies were bearable in these days.

Sunday the 17th. In the last week, we were all by ourselves and saw no human soul. On the *15th*, we had a good rain and in the evening of the *16th*, Anton and Mtschigi came from Fairfield with a letter from Brother Schnall informing us that we should expect a few sisters by tomorrow who would pick up Sister Denke for a visit to the brothers and sisters for a few days; meanwhile, Anton stays with Brother Denke. Mtschigi went to Kittigan and came back on the *17th* bringing some unpleasant hysterias which he heard from Kajaki. But subsequently it was found out that this was mere idle gossip with which the Chippuways like to occupy themselves so very much, spread out and retail. He went to Fairfield. In the evening, the sisters came but did not bring a horse because of the mosquitoes and horseflies; they offered to carry Sister Denke rather on their back in case she would get too tired, and to rest more often on the way and make a fire. There was a meeting about today's texts in the evening.

18th - Sister Denke left with them for Fairfield. Anton hunted but shot nothing because of the mosquitoes which were very numerous today as it was gloomy. In the afternoon, we had good showers.

19th - Mtschigi and Kajaki came from Kittigan. With the latter, I talked about the above mentioned gossip; then it was found that the chief at the St. Clair is displeased with our presence here and wants us with him. He has no claim at all on this land but it belongs to the Indians living here. Kajaki was invited to stay for a while with us and to camp as he is alone at home in Kittigan. Here he should daily hear great Words and his children should receive schooling. He promised to do that in some time. The cutworms are very numerous on the old fields in Kittigan.

this year, therefore, they have to look after those.

All Chippuways seem generally to have the national shortcoming of loving very much to wander around, the same as the Numidian tribes, and hardly stay long in a place. This evil (out of which many other results have an influence on their domestic practices) will most certainly not be prevented and destroyed otherwise than by the acceptance and enjoyment of the divine Word and its salvation bringing consequences. Hardly are the inhabitants of Kittigan at home, when they must go to St. Clair again; that is the case with Kajaki too; meanwhile their fields spoil. He looked at our garden and wished to have one like that. He asked for some cabbage seedlings with which we helped him gladly as we have those in abundance. He had quickly made a basket of bark in which he carried those home.

20th - Today, in the morning, Anton and Mtschigi went to Fairfield. It was getting dark, when Sister Denke, in company of Martha and Justine, came back from Fairfield. She made the way on foot and left Fairfield only in the afternoon. The swamps are dry now but the mosquitoes very bad. As soon as they were here, we had heavy showers. We were thankful that the weather kept up till they were safely housed.

21st - The Indian sisters went home. We had an exceptionally heavy downpour in the afternoon.

On *the 22nd*, an Indian from the upper planting place visited us with his son; they went to Kittigan and came back in the evening. He was very friendly and promised to visit us soon again.

23rd - We hilled up our corn.

Sunday, the 24th. In these days, we had a strong wind, especially at night, which was sometimes frightening and unpleasant as several high trees whose tops are now woody still stand near our house.

26th - Mtschigi came and brought us a letter from Brother Schnall. He caught a young duck and went back again.

28th - An Indian from up the river visited here, listened attentively to the Word of Life, and bartered some tobacco for muskrat's pelts. He gave us a nice fish and 3 dozen turtle eggs, and, as soon as it was dark, he went again up the river to hunt in the night. We were thankful for the eggs as our hens still do not lay, and you can use turtle eggs as well as hen eggs for baking and cooking.

29th - Nabbawe¹¹, the chief, came early and brought us a table which was still left at the St.

¹¹ Nabbawe was an Ojibwa chief of the Sydenham River community. He was the son of Kecha-makqua, the first chief of the Sydenham River, whom Nabbawe is reported to have killed. Nabbawe was married to the daughter of Onagan, a chief living in the Odawa

Clair. He had carried it on his back from Kittigan till here. We also received the long wished for letter of the Chief Whitaneftsa¹², in which he informs us that he would have preferred we would live by him at the St. Clair, and he could also not permit that Delawares should hunt here at the river. But he can not refuse as the land does not belong to him. Nangi¹³, the first of the chiefs, sent us a quite friendly greeting. The poor man is very ill. 2 lads of Mtschigi's circle of friends, Tipasau and Schaganasch, came here today and hunted a little for us but came back empty handed and went to Fairfield on the 30th.

30th - In the evening, we had a quite blissful enjoyment of the Holy Communion whereby the Saviour generously consoled and heartened us in our solitude by His noticeable closeness.

JULY

3rd - An old woman with 2 children from the upper planting place passed by here on her way to Kittigan to fetch corn; she complained much of hunger and was very happy about a piece of bread and tobacco and thanked us many times. She came back on the 4th and gave Sister Denke some of her little corn to feed (as she said), the hens, so that those would lay eggs. Jawinit came in the evening to hunt on the river during the night; and Jesus' love of sinners was again praised to him.

5th - We had the pleasure to see Brother Schnall from Fairfield by us. We hardly expected him today because, as the weather was murky, the mosquitoes in the bush and at the swamps were almost unbearable.

6th - 2 Indian families went in 3 canoes by here to the St. Clair at noon. They cannot hunt because of the mosquitoes which are very troublesome this year and suffer hunger. As their little corn is now hilled up and their plantations, anyway, are worked cursorily, they go to the Schneye carty¹⁴ and St. Clair to live on fish and will only come back for the corn-harvest. Jawinit gave

community on St. Anne's Island by Walpole.

¹² Also known as Wiponepa or Ouitanissa, was a major chief of the Ojibwa communities around the St. Clair River, and lived with Nangi near Algonac, on the Michigan side of the river. He was the father of Onagan. Ouitanissa died in February, 1805.

¹³ An important Ojibwa chief of the St. Clair River area, he lived near Algonac on the Michigan side of the River. He granted Denke permission to establish the Sydenham River mission. He died at Malden in 1805.

¹⁴ This is Denke's spelling of the Chennail Ecarte (known locally as the Snye, today). This is one of several channels of water that winds through the Walpole Island delta from the St. Clair River to Lake St. Clair. The is also the channel that the Sydenham River spills into, immediately across from St. Anne's Island and the location of the Odawa settlement occupied during the start of the 19th century.

us a nice deer-ham and local cherries (*Mespilus nivea* Marsch¹⁵) which have a good taste and quite refreshed us. As they have no stones, they are preferable to the smaller black cherries. They grow here frequently. Sister Denke bought some meat from a woman for a few needles. We were very thankful for this, then, for quite a long time, as we did not have fresh meat. Nobody is home at Kittigan. After a little visit which cheered us up, Brother Schnall and the Indian lad, Schaganasch, who had accompanied him, returned at the 7th.

On some days, the mosquitoes tormented us almost excessively and we had even some nights spend sleepless on their, and the fleas, account. We could already eat the first beans, cucumbers, and early potatoes of our garden. Everything stands well in spite of the fact that it is unworked land and it was sometimes very dry; especially our cucumbers and potatoes which have partly already become the size of an unshelled walnut. The heat is very oppressive on some days and, as we have only a little improvement in the dense and tall wood, besides are surrounded with dense underbrush, the whiff of fresh air is impeded and the heat all the more severe.

Sunday the 8th. Mtschigi came with 2 befriended lads from Fairfield and they made a dugout "canoe" in the following days to go to the St. Clair.

9th - We held a singing hour in Chippuway in the evening. Brother Denke held a little school for them today too.

10th - They left towards evening but their dogs came back again and made a howling racket almost the whole night.

On *the 11th*, 2 lads from Kittigan visited us in a small canoe. We got turtle eggs and a young duck from them. They took the dogs with them.

14th - We had surprisingly heavy rain showers toward evening - the water even came in our house, and...

on *Sunday the 15th*, severe thunderstorms. The river is muddy and slightly risen. The brooklet southward in the valley flows again too.

18th - Mtschigi came with Tipasau and Schaganasch from Fairfield. The former brought his youngest son along, who is suffering from the blue cough, and some corn to eat, and on the...

19th, they made a walnut table, a plank bed, and chairs. Tipasau and Schaganasch hunted at a nearby salt lick, upstream across the river on a "bottom," during the night but got nothing.

20th - Towards evening, Kajaki arrived with his family, according to his promise, and another

¹⁵ This is the European name used in the 19th century for *Amelanchier laevis* or serviceberry (J. McAndrews, personal communication).

one from Kittigan. They camped at the "town" place. They soon got quite trusting and the Indian women visited Sister Denke.

21st - We held school with the young people and in the evening there was a meeting in Chippuway in Mtschigi's house, which all here present Chippuways, 15 souls with the children, attended and quite devoutly listened.

23rd - 7 souls from Mtschigi's circle of friends arrived here. There were 3 young Indians from Fairfield who brought us some food but immediately went back again. The Indians staying here were almost constantly hunting. We, thereby, got fresh meat, also several wild ducks. Sister Denke suffered much pain in her left knee and could hardly walk today, but it cleared off again through warm poultices of cornmeal.

25th - Tipasau brought us 2 ducks.

26th - Kajaki's wife gave Sister Denke a duck and a basket full of good down.

27th - They had hunted down 3 deer and a few "raccoons" and now, everybody was busy with drying meat to preserve it.

28th - After a very sultry morning, we had a severe thunderstorm with heavy showers and hard thunderclaps in the afternoon. The mosquitoes seem now to decrease a little. The Indian who arrived here on the 23rd got ready for the departure to Fairfield but were prevented by the thunderstorm. Only Mtschigi and his little son went away after the rain had subsided a little; the rest only left on *Sunday, the 29th*. They want to go first to Fairfield to make dugout "canoes" and from there to Malden and will probably not come again for a long time. But Tipasau promised at parting to come to us definitely soon again even though alone. He seems to have taken a certain liking to us and to this place.

We would have liked to hold a meeting today but because of the thunderstorm and Kajaki's wife taken ill, it could not be done. Kajaki cleaned up the "town" place a little in these days; now one gets an open view down the river till the first bend below. He promised also to do the same up the river. The "town" place, however, will be a little opener when the undergrowth close to the bank is hewn away. The deer come now more frequently to the river here and graze in the grass at the banks, and seek also some salt licks nearby. In the spring, the Indians told us that only toward the Indian summer, at the time when the corn is in the milk, do the deer get frequent here.

The Indians like to hunt on the river or at the salt licks especially at night by a light or torch. Many "raccoons" were hunted down too; their furs are not special; the Indians, therefore, do not skin the young ones but put them on the fire and singe off the hair and then clean them off with a knife. Some "raccoons," however, are fat at present. During that time, we never lacked fresh meat as the Indians gave us generously.

A rumour had spread among the Indians at this river. The chiefs and especially Whitanefsa are supposed to have secretly already sold this land to the English in the spring. They are displeased with that and say this chief has no right to this land but it belongs to them. We have learned nothing certain yet. This much is known that the government had it in mind but wanted to take only preliminary steps at present. Should it be really the case that it happened and this place came within the line too, so, surely, we would like it always better to be on English property and under British protection than to live on Chippuway land.

30th - Last night, Kajaki shot a deer nearby, down the river. All the Indians, except Kajaki and his ill wife, went to Kittigan by water to get blackberries. They gave us plenty of them. It was raining almost continuously today.

31st - The Indians fetched corn from below us where they had buried it. In autumn, after the corn is shucked and well dried, they dig considerably large pits into the soil and line them with bark on the sides and the bottom; on those a tight lid of bark is put and covered with soil; in those they hide their corn. One finds such places at rivers everywhere, even where no plantations are nearby; while they move around a great deal and stay very little at home on their plantations, so they like to bury the corn at scattered places, quasi hiding. An Indian and a lad from the upper planting place past here last night and went home today. The Indians above us are hungry, sick, and have no gunpowder. He bought some powder from the Indians here. All here were hunting during the night but brought only fat "raccoons" home. From it, Kajaki's wife gave Sister Denke a few quarts of good melted fat.

AUGUST

1st - Jawinit came back from St. Clair River, stayed here only briefly, and went up the river to his field. Kajaki too went with his son up to hunt backward during the night.

2nd - Brother Denke went with Kajaki's son to Fairfield. His wife, meanwhile, slept by Sister Denke in the house. We got fresh meat again.

3rd - In the evening, a Chippuway, a friend of Mtschigi, arrived here with his wife, a Schawano¹⁶, and a young Indian from the Woapikamik.

4th - Brother Denke came back from Fairfield quite sick and weak, and in the following days, a high fever set in whereby he was, at times, quite seriously ill. The Indians, especially Kajaki, visited him frequently and his wife too. She did a fine job on Sister Denke so that the latter, during the absence of her husband, had a good time with the Chippuway women.

6th - Mtschigi came with 3 Chippuways from Fairfield and from above, 3 "canoes" with Indians stopped by. They camped opposite and early on *the 7th*, they drove away. All the Indians of the

¹⁶ This is Denke's spelling of an early English form (Shawano) for the Shawnee tribe.

upper plantation followed them and were, so to speak, fleeing because they believed to have seen evil-minded Indians, perhaps Mingues¹⁷ close to their huts last night. They stayed here only briefly. Through this rumour, the Indians living here were scared too, and were watching all night to the 18th. But, as we assumed, nothing happened. A number of them went to Fairfield today. Through such rumours, surely empty and not holding up, the Chippuways and Delawares let themselves be scared already for many years. One sees from that their great fear of the Mingues or Mohawks. A delegation of these, who were in Fairfield some time ago and delivered a speech there and of whom still a few are here and not yet gone home, may probably be the cause of this fabrication and guesswork. We had again thunderstorms with heavy rain showers in these days.

9th - Notwithstanding that the Indians here are still afraid of the Mingues, Kajaki went hunting up the river last night and brought home a deer. They shot several in the following days and we were quasi overloaded with meat.

11th - The majority went to Kittigan to fetch blackberries. Kajaki's children are almost all sick.

13th - We had Holy Communion in the fellowship with the commune in the evening and whilst doing so, the closeness of the gracious Saviour was quite felt and He blessed and strengthened us.

14th - The women went with the children by "canoe" to Kittigan to get blackberries and invited us to come along. We came home again in the evening. It was very sultry and cloudy as well. There are only 6 houses in Kittigan at present and only 2 are inhabited by Indians from time to time. The rest of the former inhabitants have left. A year ago, there were still 14 houses there. Those who did not intend to come back, pulled down their houses and one has been burned down according to their custom because the owner died in it. It is said Indians would move there again in the coming year. Several of the former inhabitants of Kittigan are living now further up the Thames, below the Pinery. At the grave of a child, buried there last spring, the women made a small fire and put blackberries and some meat for the child there; then they gathered and ate at the grave; they invited us too but, as we were a little indisposed due to the oppressive heat and had no appetite, we refused politely. Kajaki had looked after our house and field here very well. The mosquitoes in Kittigan and on the way back were very pestering. The river is, at present, so low that the "canoe," in some cases, had to be pulled over the stones. Normally, there is a lot of stagnant water, and deep spots between us and Kittigan. We all came home heavily laden with blackberries. There are surprisingly many on the old fields.

16th - A good opportunity emerged during a visit with Kajaki to show him quite urgently the way to the salvation of his soul.

17th - He and another one went hunting and came back only on *the 18th*. All went to Kittigan

¹⁷ This is Denke's spelling for Mingos. In the 18th century Iroquoian communities living in Ohio, regardless of tribal origin, were usually referred to as either Mingo or Seneca.

today to fetch again blackberries and corn. Martha and Justina visited us from Fairfield in the evening; an Indian family came up the river too to hunt in this area. The man brought us right away a deer ham.

19th - The sisters went back quite cheerfully. We gave them cucumbers and some meat; of the former, we have plentiful.

21st - We remembered the annual assembly of the Heathen Society¹⁸ in Bethlehem. All the Indians went away today, up the river. We were also all by ourselves again. The heat is exceptionally oppressive but at the same time, it seems as if the mosquitoes decrease.

22nd - 2 Indians from up the Thames River came but as they did not find any Indians here, so they went soon back to Kittigan. Very heavy thunderstorms moved past us below towards the Thames River and we got only a little rain.

Herewith we close our present diary and commend us to the kind memory and prayer of all the brothers and sisters.

C.F. & A.M. Denke

¹⁸ In 1787 the brethren in North America established *The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen*, in imitation of the *Society for the furtherance of the Gospel* established by the Brethren in England 46 years earlier. This society consists of all elders and ministers of the congregations of the United Brethren in North America and other chosen members. They held their first meeting on the 21st of September, 1787 at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. On February 27, 1788, this society was declared and constituted a body politic and corporate by the state of Pennsylvania.